FEEDBACK

Anarchist Publications

New Titles From Hooligan !

Following on from their first three books: *The Free* by M. Gilliland (£1.80 / £1.20 to distributors, @ groups and publications) a fantasy thriller about an anarchist revolt *Ideal Home – Survival Edition* by Suspect £2.40 / £2.00 to distributors, @s etc. a handbook for all alternative housing options: squatting, travelling, benders etc. *A Year of Our Lives: A colliery Community during the Great Coal Strike of 1984-'85* (£3.50 / £2.00 direct from Hooligan) comes three new titles.

The Faction album by Pete Mastin. The illustrator of *Black Flag* where his *Faction* cartoon provided our readers with many a laugh has compiled them all and much more. Price details in November 1986.

Without A Trace a reprint an update of the classic book of police forensic science – their methods, technology and a look at the Animal Liberation Front's rescue and sabotage team tactics. For anyone who wants to hit back and get away. Price details in November 1986.

Radio is My Bomb – How to be a Radio Pir@te is an A - Z manual of how to build set up and operate a pirate station. It also looks at anarchist radio stations in other parts of the world. *Radio is My Bomb* is a quote made in her defence by Chantal Paternostre, the Belgian anarchist still awaiting trial in isolation, framed up with planting bombs for the CCC. She was working for *Radio Air Libre*, Brussels pirate radio up to the time of arrest. Price details in November 1986. ***Hooligan Press, BM Hurricane, Lonaon WC1N 3XX***

Late Note: The last three publications have now been delayed and should be available some time next year.

THE FREE
By M. Gilliland.



Published by
HOOLIGAN PRESS
a non profit making enterprise.

The Anarchist Encyclopedia

Already published: *Folio 1 – Collectivisation in Aragon; Folio 2 & 3 Self-Management, Frank Mintz/ Bakunin on Education.*
Next out: *Anarchism and Anthropology, Harold Barclay.*
(*Aragon* separately £2; *Folio 2 & 3* £1; *Anthropology* £1).
The binder will be coming out shortly: Individual folders £2.50. Inclusive subscription for 12 issues of *Encyclopaedia* £16.
The *Anarchist Encyclopaedia* and ***Refract Publications*** are bringing out shortly an updated catalogue, with works in print and to come in the near future. For catalogue, orders etc. write to:

BM Refract, London WC1 3XX

Folios toward
The Anarchist Encyclopædia

Other Publications

ANARCHISM IN ACTION, The Spanish Revolution, £1. Published by Tower Hamlets DAM.
This enthusiastic 46-page pamphlet covers the Spanish revolution, and gives a useful account of the Spanish Labour movement before and after the events of 1936-39.



The way the events are outlined in brief makes it easy to understand how the revolution progressed, from a background of working class struggle and conflict with the Church and State.
The pamphlet is illustrated by photographs and a map of Spain in 1936.

ART OF ANARCHY
49 beautiful illustrations by the artist Flavio Costantini. **£3.00** (including P&P) In aid of Anarchist Black Cross.
Library orders: ISBN 0 948703 00 8
ABC: BM Hurricane, London WC1N3XX

DIRECT ACTION
Another good issue of 'Direct Action' has come our way, with articles on the Public Order Bill, Aids, and Nuclear Power. Price 25p. c/o Box DA., Raven Press, 75 Piccadilly, Manchester. **Issue No. 34, November 1986.**

An Obituary

It is with deep regret that we note the death in London from leukaemia on 19 October of *Jimmy 'Spotter' Murphy* (65). Veteran Republican activist, Jimmy was well-known and respected by many Anarchist and 'Angry Brigade' prisoners, whom he came into contact with whilst serving a ten-year sentence in England for allegedly supplying intelligence to the 'Balcome Street Siege' service unit of the IRA. Active in the IRA during the 1940's, Jimmy had previously been interned for several years in Belfast's Crumlin Road prison.

His funeral in Belfast on October 24 sparked off angry protests from local people, Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams, and Fr Jim Donaghy of Corpus Christi, after the area around his sister's home in the New Barnsley estate of West Belfast was saturated by heavily armed members of the RUC and Royal Marines for two days. Hundreds of cops and soldiers, with armoured Land-Rovers and at least three helicopters, accompanied the funeral cortege to a service of remembrance at Corpus Christi church, Ballymurphy, and on to Milltown cemetery, blocking roads and intimidating mourners and local people. Milltown cemetary itself was swamped with soldiers and police who surrounded the graveside; and one local member of Sinn Fein was told by the RUC as he was leaving that the next funeral he would be attending there would be his own!

Jimmy was released from Long Lartin in 1984 and had continued to live in London until his death. He suffered his long illness bravely, and never lost his sense of humour or his love of freedom. He will be missed by all who knew him.

Anarchy Collective.

Book Review

THE GREAT LIBERTY RIOT OF 1780. John Nicholson (£15.95)

This is a good reminder, not the first book to do so, that the legend about the 'mad' Lord George Gordon is just that. He was a bit ahead of his time, as an aristocrat sitting for a Tory rotten borough bought by his family, siding with the people (a few years later this contradiction was frequent in France). Nor were the Gordon riots anti-Catholic as such: they were riots against the hypocrisy of the (anti-Catholic) Establishment which wished to relieve Catholic disabilities to allow Scottish Highland and Irish to take the Oath and enlist against the American rebels. It burned down the prisons and freed the captives.

Gordon fought on for the people after their defeat, eventually turning against Christianity as well as the State, he was too soon, a few years later he would have turned to Unitarian or free-thought, as it was he turned to Judaism and the laughter of the establishment was that the Protestant aristocrat had become a pauper Jew. Fancy giving up his wealth and turning Jewish! Within a few years wealthy Jews were turning to christianity and becoming aristocrats. But that was a sign of commonsense.

The manner in which Charles Dickens lent his genius to vilify the riots in *Barnaby Rudge* is an interesting feature of the book: Dickens was a great writer and he considered himself a Radical, but he was far from being a great Radical.

Only a small point: the author assumes that because John Jackson, a rioter, waved a black and red flag, this was of 'symbolic importance' because they are 'the traditional colours of the Anarchists'. True, but not back in the 18th century. The red flag had yet to emerge as the colours of the working class revolt and socialism, and not for over a century would the black flag become the symbol of anarchism. The combination of colours as anarcho-syndicalism was not until this century.

Bits & Pieces

MIKE STOTT'S MUCK-UP
On BBC radio 3 for Thursday October 21 we find the programme 'Dead Men' described in the *Radio Times*:

BBC Birmingham (R)

7.30 Dead Men
by MIKE STOTT
In 1870 Sergei Nechaev, a young fanatic described by Lenin as the first 'real' Communist, turned up at the Swiss home of Prince Michael Bakunin, at that time considered to be the most famous Russian revolutionary at liberty. Bakunin, content to dream of revolution and write the odd radical pamphlet, is brought face to face with an advocate of mass terror.
Bakunin ..... FREDDIE JONES
Anna ..... KATE LEE
Natalya ..... SARAH NEVILLE
Postnikov ..... JOHN ARTHUR
Antonia ..... VIVIENNE DIXON
Ogarev ..... CYRIL SHAPS
Nechaev ..... ADAM KOTZ
Directed by ALFRED BRADLEY
BBC Manchester (R)

9.20 Malcom Arnold's 65th Birthday Concert
MARTIN ROSCOE (piano)
BBC PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA
leader DENNIS SIMONS

Nechayev could hardly be the 'first Communist' in 1870. 'Prince' (sic) Michael Bakunin always put his dreams into action; indeed 1870 was the very year of the Paris Commune – he participated in the Lyons uprising. He never wrote 'the odd radical pamphlet', and Nechayev was an advocate of individual terror not mass terror (that was used by the Tsarists).

SONGS OF ANARCHISM AND REVOLUTION
Sixteen traditional songs of the international Anarchist movement. Various languages and dates – English, French, German, Italian, Russian, Spanish and Yiddish – from Czarist Russia to the miners strike.
46 minute audio cassette: £3.00.
Spectacular Times, Box 99, 84b, Whitechapel High Street, London, E1 7QX, England.

EX CONCERTS
The Dutch band *The Ex* who produced a superbly illustrated look at the Spanish Revolution this year complete with two singles are touring England. Readers who are interested can see them at:
Birmingham Burberries (Nov 25)
Preston Rumble (Nov 26)
Nottingham Garage (Nov 27)
Oxford Jericho Hotel (Nov 28)
Manchester Broadwalk (Nov 29)
Edinburgh Onion Cellar (Dec 1)
Bristol Tropic Club (Dec 2)
Norwich Arts Centre (Dec 3)
London Ladbroke Grove Bay 63 (Dec 4)
Bedford Greyfriars International (Dec 6)
Brighton Richmond Hotel (Dec 7)
The two singles/booklet pack is distributed in Britain by *Rough Trade* and is available at better record and bookshops.

DORSET ANARCHISTS
Any Anarchists in the Dorset area please contact Alice / Alec c/o ***PO Box A Chideock PO, Chideock, W. Dorset.***

RESISTIN' EVICTION
A street party will be held at *96 Davigdor Road, Hove* on November 26th to resist eviction.

NOTE TO READERS
This issue of BLACK FLAG was delayed because of a shortage of graphics available. Please send us at least one graphic if possible when sending in articles.

No.164
BLACK FLAG
30p
THE ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY
24-11-86

1984 IN 1986

PUBLIC ORDER BILL PASSED

As you read this, the Queen could be giving Royal Assent to the Public Order Bill which was passed in the House of Lords on October 29th of this year.

The Public Order Act will probably become *law* on January 1st 1987.

It means that anarchists will be getting nicked, almost every week for 'appearing to threaten violence' – defined as *riot* – and jailed for ten years. This time next year, how many of us will be left?

Just because we're anarchists and the cops don't like us and they will have the power to demand *anything* of a 'public assembly'. If there are a hundred of us they can say there must be ten of us. If we are here they'll order us there and if we're there they'll order us here and and we'll have to sod off home after the first five minutes anyway.

Okay. The cops do that now. But the Public Order Act means that if we disobey we get a £400 fine. And if we tell others to disobey we get a £1000 fine and a three month prison sentence, *and* might have to pay the cost of policing the 'demonstrations' as well.

What are we going to do?

Fight, fight, fight. Get up off our arses and fight.

The Campaign Against Police Repression have been encouraging a march to defy the new laws – to *disobey* (like all good anarchists should). It's not some crackpot suicidal act of defiance that's been planned only in the last couple of months; we've been preparing for this since last year, working away building support amongst the anti-facist, anti-apartheid and civil liberty organisations, and the pay-off time is *now*.

Now, we retreat into our little homes and watch soap operas over bottles of cider and never demonstrate ever again – or we start working to achieve this end: beating the bill.

It's as simple as that. The 'illegal' Saturday After march will probably be on January 3rd, but as a build-up to that we are marching on *Saturday November 29, gathering at 12 noon at Clock Tower Place, Market Road, London N7 (Caledonian Road Tube).*

Let's Smash The Public Order Act, Together!

From a statement by The Campaign Against Police Repression

MARCH AGAINST THE PUBLIC ORDER LAWS

The Saturday After

RALLY: THE FIRST SATURDAY AFTER THE PUBLIC ORDER BILL IS PASSED
MARCH: THE FIRST SATURDAY AFTER THE BILL BECOMES LAW
BOTH ASSEMBLE AT
12 NOON, CLOCK TOWER PLACE, LONDON N7
(Near Caledonian Road tube, Piccadilly line)
CRECHE & DETAILS: 01-881 2938

Defiant Battle Rocks Hamburg !



The last big occupied centre in Germany will be completely evicted by December 31st, after a long harassment, a huge police raid and an eviction despite defiant resistance.

The buildings in Hafenstrasse in the Hamburg docks included a 'Peoples Kitchen', a cafe, a discotheque, a library and information centre etc. as well as seventy-five flats.

On Monday 22nd October at 7.00am, 500 cops, led by the 'Mobile Special Commandos' raided seven of the eight council-owned houses, using cutting gear and bulldozers with the declared aim of 'tidying up the street'. It took them ten hours to get into them all, trashing a few, removing the steel doors and arresting ten people for resisting. They then painted out the graffitti and two of the huge revolutionary wall murals.

The following Tuesday 23rd October six flats were evicted, with the aid of 650 police (in fact they have a licence until 31 December but have been on rent strike due to the council doing no repairs). The inhabitants got five minutes notice to quit, then all their belongings were thrown out the windows.

The houses are a symbol of defiance, and seen as an evil den of terrorists by the authorities and press. They're a centre for the housing, prisoners, anti-imperialist, anti-fascist and anti-nuclear struggle. Among other harassments those living there have had long range microphones pointed at their windows.

The next night 2,000 people protested in Hamburg, marching, setting fire to part of the town hall in the nearby Altona suburb and breaking windows to the tune of 50,000 marks.

The same night the demos spread to Berlin, Hannover and Cologne with several attacks on banks. In Nurnberg a cop car was turned over, after which all the viewers of a video on Hafenstrasse were arrested in a local community centre.

By the next day revenge actions had spread to Denmark, where ten masked people attacked the Institute for German Culture, and the showrooms of AEG, the German multinational were burnt out, causing millions in damage. Also the German press Bureau got smashed and graffitied in Copenhagen.

Next day German police raided forty flats in Hurnberg, looking for 'terrorists' but found nothing.

There are still about seventy flats occupied in the Hafenstrasse in Hamburg. We wish them the best of luck in the coming days!

A BIGGER BANG

THE BIG BANG that come on October 27th wasn't the bang that stopped the City – the City took over us. There was no resistance, no armed force was used, but it was a coup d'etat similar to that carried out by the Army in country after country. Most financial commentators referred to it as a 'revolution', and the phrase 'The Big Bang' was coined to show that it was considered a major catastrophic change-over that would usher in an entirely new era.

But the City was *already* established as British capitalism entrenched. It was *in* power, it *had* a compliant government and a feeble Opposition in Parliament. Its need to shake off all restraints was not because it was endangered in any way by political plans now or intended. Like the Industrial Revolution, it was the eventual triumph of a new class, the 'whizz kids', the computerised 'yuppies', the financial geniuses – most of them young – who may have accumulated reserves of capital to fall back on but depend for their power on manipulating the market.

They are going to wipe out the old-fashioned backbone of capitalism, the middle classes who as they grow older tend to sit back and live on the interest of their accumulated wealth, neither contributing to the general assets of the community by work nor even prepared to risk their capital. The young financiers of today have as much contempt for them as they have for the working class that creates all wealth.

A rash of new schemes tempts money from its new victims, the workers with ready money available under redundancy schemes, the retired middle class, or the shopkeeper. It garners the money through altering the rules of building societies and banks, making it hard for the tyro to discern the difference, through multiple investment schemes and through speculation in industry: unlike the industrialist who builds industries up by the exploitation of the workers, the Stock Exchange builds up profits by gambling on the performance of the industrialist. The major industrialists now are not those who have worked up an industry, they are people who have worked their way into it; they have manoeuvred themselves on to board rooms and taken over, even if they then like to pretend they are 'giving people employment' when what they are doing generally, in British circumstances anyway, is running down industry and taking jobs away.

Privatisation has given unbounded opportunities to the financial manipulators, but State control means only that they take directors' jobs instead, and draw the money out as fees. Profit is no longer the basic motive; a failing and even liquidated concern can provide as much or more financial gain for them.

With the financial coup de'etat of October 27th all restraints are gone, all control over them is lost, the international market can move in and multi-national capital takes over the economy. The distinction between 'national' capitalism will be lost; 'Third World' countries like Korea will emulate Japan and open up factories in the depressed North-East exploiting the lower wages available there, in a turn-round of roles that can easily be reversed. Go where the lower wages are is a tried capitalist policy. They feel themselves immunte from a bigger bang that would stop the champagne and oysters in City bars that greets the present Financial Revolution. Their cynicism and complacency is sickening; but at least it is understandable as they are in the winning seat. Why the losing millions of people are cynical is not so understandable. If an international military force had seized power it would take some guts to oppose this; but the lords of the new power are made entirely of paper.

BLACK FLAG – BLACK CROSS
BM HURRICANE, LONDON
WC1N 3XX

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For a social system based on mutual aid and voluntary co-operation – against State control and all forms of government and economic oppression. To establish a share in the general prosperity for all – the breaking down of racial, religious, national and sex barriers – and to fight for the life of one world.

A COLLECTIVE ARGUMENT FOR EUTHENASIA. . .

Britain's richest moneybags is the Queen with a fortune worth more than £2½ billion (and growing). Her stockbrokers manage the wheeling and dealing of the most closely guarded secret in the City.

Edmund Vestey, an Eton old boy, 54, runs the family Blue Star shipping empire and the **Dewhurst Butchers** chain as well as owning land in Scotland and Australia. He's worth **£1,500** million.

The 34 year old Duke of Westminster owns 300 acres of Mayfair and Belgravia and is worth **£2** billion.

David John Sainsbury, 45 of the grocery supergroup is worth **£719** million his brother Sir John is worth **£218** million and Timothy **£208** million.

Vernons' **Pools** chairman Robert Sangster at 50, is worth **£600** million and runs a horse-racing empire too.

Also worth **£600** million are Viscount Chelsea, 49, and Lord Howard de Walden. Other landed gentry are 52 year old Viscount Portman worth **£400** million and the Duke of Buccleuch with **£300** million Gerald Ronson, 47, founder of the **Heron Group** is worth **£300** million and Alan Sugar, 39, made **£280** million from the **Amstrad Electronics** rush. Robert Maxwell, owner of **Mirror** newspapers and a member of the Labour Party is worth **£232** million. Popstar Paul McCartney is worth **£250** million, that's more than a mile high in old **£1** notes, ie. 2,500 yards.

Since 1980 the share of the nations' total wealth owned by the top 1% has been stable at 21% (homes, stocks, and shares etc.) The richest 10% now own 52%, the richest 25% own 75% and in 1984 50% own 93% whereas the other 'arf guv (of the 42.7 million adults) own only 7%. This is a a mere third of the amount owned by the top 1% and then its spread thin around a lot more people too. The stock market boom; rising house prices and less tax have boosted profits. High income earners have had big increases in gross pay with tax cuts thus building up their stock of wealth.

COMMUNITY POLICE POLICE COMMUNITIES

In October the Thames Valley Police Consultative Committee (E Division) decided to hold a public meeting in Reading. It was announced that the committee would be happy to face questions from the public and also to hear what the local community expect from its police force.

The committee made up of police officers and selected representatives of the local community, sat on a platform and waited and waited. . . and. . . waited . . . and then packed up and went home. Not one person turned up to the meeting.

Zed (28.10.86)

COMMUNIQUE

In the early hours of Halloween, October 31st, we took direct action against the war recruitment industry with an attempt to burn down the Army Careers Information Office in Basingstoke, Hants.
Our high streets are full of these slaughterhouses, full of masculist slick ads attempting to recruit and exploit the young – and especially the unemployed.
Our action is in solidarity with activists everywhere engaged in the ongoing struggle against the complexities of the British State's war machine.
Kick it til it breaks! Love and @
– Floatin' anarchy.

HOME NEWS

The Only Good Fascist...

Despite severe internal problems (see *Black Flag No. 162)* the fascist National Front still managed to attract around 1500 (mainly skin-head) racists together and marched on the Cenotaph in Whitehall, central London, on Saturday 9th of Novem!er 1986.

The perfect contradiction of fascists commemorating those who died fighting Hitler's army accurately highlights the stark contrast between the NF's public and private image.

No more than a bunch of crude racists and megalomaniacs, the NF has always had a serious identity crisis. Trying to sell fascism to a hostile public, they run their organisation on fear, violence and hatred. And while this mix has always satisfied the skin-head element fascists over - 25 have tended to yearn for a more 'respectable' image. Hence the need for more 'respectable' activities like marches on Remembrance Sunday, election campaigning, anti-drugs campaigns etc.

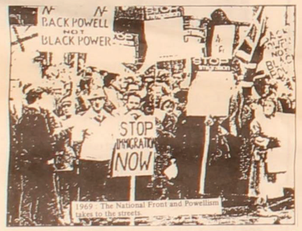
Meanwhile, power struggles within the NF continue. In the true Trotskyist style the NF leadership (now firmly under Nick Griffin and Derek Holland's control) has just published an eighty-page booklet solely devoted to denouncing the recent 'reactionary' split in their party. While in *Nationalism Today* (the NF's recently revived bi-monthly magazine) Griffin continues his tirade against the split by denouncing them as 'Nationalist Anarchists' because they, according to Griffin, want to 'decentralise the NF'. A closer look at the situation reveals that the only reason the split (which calls itself the 'National Front Support Group') wants to decentralise the party is precisely because it wants to take power out of Griffin's hands.



And as the war of words goes on the latest Griffin fantasy is that the split was in fact provoked by MI5. The split denies this by suggesting Griffin has gone mad.

While all this is very amusing to outsiders, the reality is that racist attacks continue. Anti-fascists are given an ideal opportunity to hold fascists accountable whenever and wherever they march. Anti-Fascist Action missed that opportunity on November 9th by collaborating with police and keeping away anti-fascists from the fascists. How AFA expects to smash fascists off the street without confronting them remains a mystery.

Trotsky - Fascist !



Enoch Powell was invited by the Bristol University Conservative group to talk on Law & Order. It was decided by local anarchist groups that this racist should be prevented from speaking. Left wing groups had decided to make no attempt to prevent Powell from speaking, deciding to just mount an ineffectual picket for appearances only. Forty or fifty anarchists entered the speaking hall and set up a barrage of noise and spit. Powell attempted to speak for ten minutes but was barely audible, his speech finished as crash barriers were wrenched about and his Rugby Club protectors turned and ran.

Demonstrators then chased after Powell, forcing him to be bundled away in his car, tables were overturned and microphones smashed. As the demonstrators left the University they were harangued by the odd leftie demonstrator in the foyer. One particular leftie was on the receiving end of some well-deserved class anger as demonstrators were sickened by his megaphoned whinging.

The Socialist Workers Party position on direct action against University racists has shifted since last year. During the anti-Vincent (who writes for the scab paper *The Sun*) campaign they tried to control the students' actions by participating in the violent demos against Vincent At the first demo, it was a member of the SWP who called for a charge to break through the security guards cordons and attacked the lecture.

Today, with their preoccupation with winning over disillusioned Labour supporters, they appear to be trying to be less in favour of direct action.

They told us it was 'bad tactics' to attack Powell, because it was giving propaganda to the Right, and this was dangerous as Parliament were about to discuss the 'free speech' clause in the Education Bill.

This is bollocks! So many racists and Tories have been attacked in the last two years that the Government are already determined to crack down on campus militants. The SWP merely show that they harbour illusions about the Government. Thatcher is determined to crush all opposition to her politics and laying on your back and pleading innocence like the SWP did is useless, its almost as though they accept the Government will fight racism for them.

Since then the SWP have held branch meetings on 'How to fight racism' which are exercises in giving reasons for doing nothing. The SWP has lost its way, it is no longer involved in rank and filism, Anti-Fascist Action or anything excpet politics by the left for the left. The SWP is dead from the neck up, and very disillusioned. Direct Action shows the way!

Bristol DAM-IWA

LITIGANT TENDENCY AGAIN

Robert Kilroy-Silk first wrote a book glorifying his role as withstanding the Trotskyists' take over of Merseyside politics – then scarpered out of politics to take a well paid television job, causing an unwelcome by-election for the party he had insisted he was loyally serving.

Leslie Huckfield, already a Euro MP, wanted to move into the vacated Labour seat, but the Labour Party didn't want him. Like the Litigant Tendency, of which he is a fellow-traveller, what was Huckfield's reaction? Go to the Law Courts, the 'Militant' Tendency's inevitable resource.

Mr Justice Hoffman decided that Labour Party could select its own candidate rather than having the tape-worm tendency of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. Some Merseyside trots picketed the Walworth HQ of the Labour Party to oppose this monstrous betrayal of the socialist revolution on the judicial road to socialism. It was their right. But why are they called left-wing, why militant?

COVENTRY

A large crowd of people helped a 10 year old boy escape after he had been caught shop lifting. He was caught red-handed with stolen goods, but the shop assistants holding him were quickly surrounded by about 50 people who demanded that they let him go. He managed to get free after a middle aged man shouted out 'Leg it, son'. The boy has not been traced.

Anarchist Black Cross News

COMRADE TIM FIGHTS ON

Tim Wilson (formerly Thompson), for well over a year has been the victim of what is a very murky and one of the most oppressive institutions in this country – the 'hospital' prison system. As we have already pointed there are well over 100,000 prisons of this type in Britain.

Doctors, nurses, magistrates, social workers, police and solicitors have contributed to making Tim Wilson's life one of pure hell for a long period.

For a relatively minor crime, he was confined under Section 37 of the Mental Health Act in the late summer of 1985. Being an anti-authoritarian and non-conformist, Tim refused to bend to the pseudo-health therapy, which is practised in 'hospital' prisons.

Tim sent us a letter on October 11th 1986 in which he said: –

'I'm feeling very pissed off because I ought to be out of here by now, and would have been had I told my psychiatrist that I was willing to be transferred to an 'open' ward at my case conference in August.

'This situation is the product of the shrink's lack of concern and basic incompetence. It's highly frustrating being in this hellish lock-up ward when you know you could be out!'

Another letter on October 21st, said : 'The situation now is that lodgings in Hastings may now be available, together with a bed-sit becoming ready in a few weeks time.'

On his eventual release Tim is going to carry on the fight against these 'hospitals' and the courts and doctors who are responsible for the kidnapping and detaining of so many people in this 'free and democratic' country.

Source: O.R.

TERRY DEAN

Terry Dean went to trial at the Old Bailey Court in Central London on Nov. 5th. He was sentenced to seven years in jail. When we have his new prison address it will be published along with further details of the trial. Apparently a former squatter 'Peter Valantine' in a deal with the police to have his own charges dropped acted as a witness for the State to testify that he saw Terry burn down the Tulse Hill Post Office on the night of the September 1985 riot after Cherry Groce was shot in the back by police in Brixton.

RONNIE MENZIES

Ronnie Menzies, currently on remand in Aberdeen prison has asked for visits, mail, books, money, support from readers. He has been in prison before and spent most of his last sentence in solitary for being political and not quiet about it! He is also vegan and gets harassed by guards for this.

Ronnie Menzies, 1405
Hall B, HMP Aberdeen,
Aberdeen, SCOTLAND.

INTERNATIONAL

News in Brief

MOUNTIE BACK IN THE SADDLE

Royal Canadian Mounted Police Chief Superintendent Alcide Yelle, who in 1983 was given a suspended sentence and placed on six months probation for the 1973 theft of computer reels containing the names of more than 100,000 members of the Parti Quebecois, has been put in charge of security planning for the upcoming francophone summit.

At the time of the break-in at Les Messageries Dynamiques, where the tapes were stored, Yelle was acting head of Security Service 'G' Section, created in 1970 to 'fight terrorism in Quebec'.

It was 'because my superiors had confidence in my abilities' he said in an interview when asked the reason for his recent promotion.

NEWS FROM GREECE

On September 28th a riot took place in Athens after a musical concert. The clash with the police resulted in the arrest of two young persons. Both were convicted, to ten and twelve months, respectively.

We reported in the last issue of *Black Flag* that sixteen more comrades in Thesalonica were accused of the police-car bombing incident; the truth is that they have not yet been charged but were taken to the police headquarters for interrogations. Those sixteen comrades happen to be some of the most active anarchists in Thesalonika and it seems possible that the police are trying to charge them for 'moral responsibility' of the incident!

IFA CONGRESS

A delegation representing the British anarchist movement attended the IFA (International Anarchist Federation) congress in Paris over the French bank holiday (All Saints). We met Anarchists from all over Europe, Japan and South American exiles. Some of whom we had met in Venice the other year turned up again and useful new contacts were made. The Greek, German, Swedish, Dutch, Belgian and British were all there in force – plus the French, Spanish and Italian federations who form the International. Besides ourselves, Bristol and Nottingham Anarchists were present and papers were sent from Nth. Ireland.

SPAIN – NEWS UPDATE

An earlier *Black Flag* carried a piece on *Bruguera*, the big Spanish publishing company whose owners pissed off with the profits, leaving the workers to collectivise in order to save their livelihoods. The *Banco de Credito Industrial* – into whose hands the company has passed by default – refuses to permit the collectivisation. Seven of the *Bruguera* workers have now gone on indefinite hunger strike in protest, in Barcelona.



Another earlier *Black Flag* mentioned the *Contenedora* company, whose workers on the Barcelona docks are currently on strike, organising regular acts of sabotage and attacking the scab labour hired by the company. *Contenedora* had originally used thugs connected with the far-right – which had infiltrated the company in the late '70s – as scabs. Their policy is now backfiring, as some of these scabs and people connected with them, are blackmailing the company over the telephone, threatening to reveal the full extent of the company's involvement in far-right politics if it doesn't pay up. . .

West Germany - The Asylum Seekers

Heard of all the Asylum seekers, applicants for political asylum? Streams, floods and waves of them have been swamping the poor old Federal Republic lately, according to the newspapers that would rather we didn't think about nuclear energy or Tschernobyls. And how they are being spoilt? Well, one supervisor of an institute where they are being held justified his decision to not issue them with soap with 'They have different washing habits, anyway.' One group of Tamils sent to a small village and put on the dole have been forbidden from travelling outside the 30 kilometre circle, as otherwise they couldn't be available for work, could they?



Luckier unemployed youths etc. headed off to the Wackersdorf area for the weekend recently, and units of tens and twenties hid in forests and intermittently erected barricades on assorted highways and chopped down high-tension power lines (thirty) and rallied in town centres twice and provoked water-cannon and police officers into roaming around shopping centres alienating shoppers, and many helicopter hours were flown and 7,000 cops secured the area after a fashion. The 'Hamburger Kessel' or kettle tactics were repeated, which involves surrounding and arresting the thousand participants at the beginning of the demo if you can. . . all very 1933-ish.

Of the three hundred arrested during other incidents, three were held for days on the accusation of being members of the 'RAF-Umfeld' or fringe, which means 'we can't prove a thing but you've been seen a lot at demos and we don't like the cut of your jib'. A cultural charge, as it were. Like that of 'having longish hair in Wiltshire in June'. But a bit more so, sort of more thorough. Used heavily in the next few days by the media to establish the link in the public mind between anti-WAA demonstrators, lawlessness and therefore terrorists. One gets the feeling that perhaps one branch of the State provokes a handful into excesses to provide publicity ammo against the demonstrating many. The to-be-read-by-hand-held-cop-computer-identity-card draws closer, and is gleefully praised by officials as an imminent blessing in view of the recent wave of terrorist attacks. The traffic computer is to be included in the system, they said last week amidst the publicity splurge over Braunmuller's assassination, sliding in next to banking, health insurance, residence registration office and criminal/state security police computer banks.

Names of those arrested at mass 'kettle' arrests are automatically fed into the computer system, and you are then permanently politically suspicious. And when the next Chancellor starts to shout a la 1933, then we will already know who needs arresting. . . Surveys of how much electricity each house is currently using are routine anti-subversion procedure already. . . The weekly five-minute police 'wanted criminals' television show a few weeks back showed footage from the last good Wackersdorf demo, six faces in close up etc., 'dangerous thugs' description and so on. One gave himself in, admitted only throwing a piece of mud, (the photo wasn't too clear on this point) and got let out on bail for now. Groups of twenty civic cops in black leathers and helmets were seen twice getting into or out of cop vans take note.

Eighteen anti-WAA demonstrators were on the Saturday forced to lie on the ground under the muzzles of machine-pistols for an hour before being transported away. All good training for the young coppers. The eighteen were released the next day, no charge, no apology, no compensation etc. Another day at the demos. During the whole weekend of demos and blockades, 350 people were arrested, searched, transported away, released mostly twelve or twenty four hours later. Meanwhile 15,000 demonstrated through Kiel in North Germany, breaking a couple of bank windows but not much more. Still, it was the biggest demo in Kiel since the Mattress Rebellion of 1918. . . Personally, I don't think much of parliamentary socialism. There are often elections in nearby countries. It is all pretty interesting.

NB: *Oh yes, forgot to add: the grass that they harvested in May-June and stored as hay they are now starting to feed the cows, although this will push the milk back up over 600 bequerels per litre, the EEC limit for radioactive contamination of milk. After all, it is cheaper than importing feedstuffs, isn't it, and the radioactive milk can be mixed with other milk to bring it down to 599 beqs., which is a killer but legislated for. . . Fuckin' criminals. Throughout the whole Chernobyl thing they didn't release any of their mountains of milk powder as there wasn't any need to do that as there wasn't any danger to the population. . .*

R. (Berlin, end of October)

Poland - A Call For Solidarity !

To All International Workers Association sections and the Libertarian Movement:

Workers Solidarity Alliance calls for an international day of solidarity with the Polish workers and the Polish independent anti-militarist movement for Saturday, December 13, 1986.

The WSA-IWA, is *urgently* calling on libertarian organisations to show their continued solidarity with the independent Polish workers' movement on the fifth anniversary of the declaration of martial law in Poland.

The WSA-IWA is also calling for the *immediate release* of Wojciech Jankowski. Jankowski is only one of many young Poles who are beginning to resist the forced militarisation of Polish youth. And one of many who support the independent anti-conscription and anti-militarist movement which is growing not only in Poland, but in other Eastern European bloc countries as well.

On *Saturday December 13, 1986* the WSA-IWA urges all libertarian organisations to stage some form of protest and solidarity action at whatever Polish govt. building (including trade or commerce institutions) in your respective lands.

Let the Polish state know that the world's working class will *never* forget the independent workers' movement of Poland! Let the Polish State know that wherever our sisters and brothers are imprisoned for seeking a just world, free of class oppression and militarism, we *will* stand side by side with them And through our activities we shall let our Polish sisters and brothers know that they have not been forgotten and will never be forgotten until their freedom has been won!

Finally we ask that all organisations who will participate in this day of action and solidarity, on Saturday December 13, 1986 send the WSA either letters of endorsement or information confirming that your organisation will be organising an activity for that day.

The WSA-IWA would like to thank all of you in advance for your support and participation in this day of solidarity and action in support of the independent Polish workers' movement and freedom for Wojciech Jankowski.

M. Miller, National Secretary WSA-IWA

WORKERS SOLIDARITY ALLIANCE
National Secretary
339 Lafayette Street • Room 202 • NY, NY 10012
Tel. (212) 505-6590

Socialism in Zimbabwe

In Zimbabwe, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's declared intention of turning the country into a one-party state has translated into the supression of ZAPU the other major political force responsible for the overthrow of Ian Smith's racist regime.

Local repression has attracted the attention of Amnesty International, resulting in the organisation being declared an 'enemy of the nation' by the state. On August 21, Emmerson Munangagwa, Minister of Security, accused Amnesty of 'inventing stories in order to damage the government's reputation both in and outside the country'. According to Minister of the Interior Enos Nkala, the government's major complaint seems to be that because Amnesty is headquartered in London, it is 'neither economically nor politically independent'. Minister of Security Munangawa adds that 'the respect of human rights should be judged according to the socio-economic system in place'. Meanwhile, borrowing a page from Lenin and Trotsky, all opponents of the State have been declared 'bandits'. The state-of-emergency laws introduced by Ian Smith's regime remain intact adapted to the present conditions.

KILLER COP FREE

A cop who shot a 25 year old man attacking his wife with a knife was freed after a decision made by a Public Prosecutor. The cop brutally made his way through a women's crisis centre in Copenhagen, Denmark, and shot the man twice. One bullet hit the man in the head.

WHY MOST DON'T GIVE

Day To Day Anarchist Problems In Perspective Part 1

The title is a reference to a fact it is easy to forget if you move in circles where a certain point of view or political attitude is taken for granted: that the vast majority of people in Western Europe (and probably further afield) have at the most only a passing interest in political problems. I'd say that most of them are actively hostile to discussing them, thinking about them, and above all to doing anything about them. When thinking about this obvious obstacle to any kind of real change, and why it should be so, I started thinking about myself, and the way in which I'd come across this fact. So forgive, if you can, the egocentric three paragraphs which follow. They explain what the article's on about, and they don't last long.

M.T.

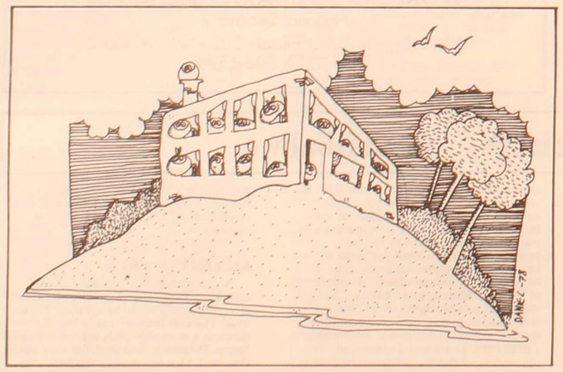
I lived in Brixton for three and a half years. When I moved to the area I had already made the discovery that what I'd been thinking — as regards people and politics - for as long as I could remember wasn't a hopelessly isolated viewpoint, but one reflected (astonishingly, so it seemed to me at the time.)in the practise and writings of these 'anarchists', about whose beliefs I'd recently heard through the sheerest of chances. Like most anarchists. I say this to emphasise that at no time did anarchism appeal to me as a 'political doctrine', eg. as something invented by people who knew better than me, and to which I should therefore subscribe. Anarchism struck me as being simply an imaginative form of commonsense. Naive as I was, it perplexed me why it wasn't the common property of all, this commonsense, this *obviousness*.



At first I was simply content to know that I was 'not alone' and with reminding myself of the fact now and again by reading an anarchist paper, or a book with some anarchistic content. Naturally enough, this sitting around 'feeling anarchist' began to feel silly after a while; so then I did something really satisfying: I went down to 121 Bookshop, took one of their free posters, and stuck it in my window. Bold and assertive though this action was, it too lost its appeal with the passing of time, and it occurred to me that I wasn't doing all I possibly might to express my belief in anarchism. (Incidentally, 'political' discussions — in which so many people 'on the left' seem to find sufficient outlets for their frustrations — didn't appeal to me at all ; better always to talk to someone whose mind is open on the subject rather than with one whose mind is already made up according to a 'political bracket'). I went back to 121, got involved in the running of the bookshop and in other activities, and slowly, gradually, met a whole circle of new people, who, though often very different as individuals, had this to distinguish them from any other group or friendship circle I had known until then: they shared — at heart — the same basic attitude, the same 'imaginative form of common sense', and the same wish to promote and defend it, as I did. I had done something that most people only mention with a wrinkling of their nose or some other expression of distaste: I had 'got involved in politics'.

I write this self-effacing little slice of autobiography down only to make the point that this transformation — this crossing over some invisible line from the unpolitical to the political — was not something *I myself recognised*. It was certain friends who knew me before who put that interpretation on it. I knew they were wrong to make the distinction, because for me what I was doing was an absolutely logical, natural development. They couldn't see it that way, no matter how much I used to jump up and down trying to make them understand. No, for them, I had become 'political' and this was — in their eyes— something closed, something limiting, something that was a waste of time. For them it put me into a category, stopped me being 'myself'. I repeat, the idea that for me this new activity made me *more myself* they couldn't understand. Anyway, with time, living in Brixton, I saw less of my old friends and more of my new ones. I now didn't think twice about my 'anarchist side' — if that phrase makes sense — on the contrary, I was with people who took it for granted in me, as I with them. There was a basic attitude around which didn't have to be discussed or proved. Affinity, is one of the words for it. (Not that we didn't disagree, argue and discuss just as much as any people anywhere — but the affinity remained untouched, acted as a kind of common starting point). This to a certain extent, was quite a relief to me — a relief to take one small point, to not have to take the trouble to prove to other people that the police were a bunch of manipulated thugs stripped of all individuality. We all knew *that*. . .

When I came to Barcelona to live, I got a shock. Two and a half years with my friends in Brixton had accustomed me to take for granted the anarchist viewpoint, and to forget, at times, that all the world was *not* anarchist. In Barcelona, for various reasons (time chiefly) I found that my contacts with anarchists were less frequent, (limited to a couple of friends in the CNT, the anarchist labour union). In general, I found that my circle of friends had shrunk considerably in comparison with what I'd been used to in London, and also that I met who I met as it were, rather than going out and looking for people likely to share my own attitudes. That seemed to me natural enough. It was also made easy by the fact that in Barcelona, ninety-nine per cent of the population share at least half the opinions regarded in Britland as 'subversive'. For example everyone here distrusts the police, (if they don't hate them) likewise with the politicians; and everybody is alright for a bit of direct action, should it come their way. (Most Barcelona demos turn into a mini Stop the City, with petrol bombs and broken windows etc. without anyone really considering this unusual). Nonetheless I couldn't get away from an unpleasant feeling of being 'in the field', as if I'd crossed the anarchist lines and gone into enemy territory.



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The attitude of almost all the people I know here is anti-political, and the longer I live here, the more I feel that their attitude is that of the majority. By anti-political, I mean that they think all 'politicos' to be dull, a waste of time, a 'trap'. The word *politiquero* is an insult here, denoting a person who wishes to manipulate you for ends other than your own. They don't actually think this of me, as I have problems trying to manipulate my canary into eating his breakfast lettuce, but their attitude towards my politics is 'don't talk about it' or if I mention anarchism they say 'don't tell us about anarchism, tell us about what *you* think'. . .

Before going on, I'd like to dispel a few of the commonly held notions that 'political'people tend to hold about 'non-political' people. One is that they are 'all right Jack' and therefore don't care about other people and therefore can't be politicised. While it may be true of the well-off middle - classes, that they don't get involved in politics, it is also true that most people who would directly benefit from a massive alteration of the system have no interest in them either. Another is that they 'don't know' about the alternatives that exist, and if they did, they'd support them. This might be true as an analysis of the situation, but not a real explanation. For example, here in Barcelona, many people have a basic idea of anarchist assumptions, or some of them, but few of them have any wish either to find out more about it, or to subscribe to them. Another theory is that the 'Lie Machine' (press/TV/advertising(consumerism/Hollywood and the entire American crock of shit in general) switches people off, and kills any interest in subversion. Barcelona — which has a forty year tradition of hatred for the government, hatred of the authorities at all levels, and a popular culture based on resistance to the *status quo* — would again give the lie to that theory: the resistance tradition died a few years after Franco did. People in general seem to be critical of the media, and demanding of it too, but their forty years of distrust of the media hasn't led them to mass political activism.

In short these stock reasons don't account for the general lack of interest in politics in Europe and beyond. These reasons are in themselves too facile, too superficial. They ignore the real factor at stake when dealing with political involvement: the individual, and the will to personally commit oneself. So what I'd like to do is simply look at the attitudes shown by all the individuals I've met personally (either my London friends who saw me crossing the invisible barrier down in Brixton, or people who I know here in Barcelona) who have this in common: an absolute lack of interest in active politics often accompanied by a dislike of those who do. Their feelings seem to be:

a) Politics puts a mask on you, and stops you being a normal individual. This is what's behind the statement already quoted, where a friend said: 'Don't tell me about anarchism, tell me what you think'. A similar example is when I told a friend that someone was coming down from the Direct Action Movement, the British anarcho-syndicalist organisation, and that I'd go and see them, see if they needed a hand — I added I normally did this for people from that organisation. My friend said: 'Don't be ridiculous, you are doing it because it's a friend and that is all there is too it — don't bring politics into it'.

b) Politics doesn't achieve anything. This was expressed by someone who said in Brixton: 'Bob Geldorf —wanker though he is — has just done more for the world than 121 has in four years'. A similar line of thinking is shown by those dozens of people who ask me or have asked me: 'This anarchism business is all very well, but what do you actually do?' The implication is that political involvement is an inefficient means of achieving anything helpful or constructive.

c) Politics is wishful thinking. How many times have we heard: 'Oh come on, that's all pie in the sky! The world isn't like that! People aren't as good as you think! This world is dog eat dog and that's all there is to it ! You people aren't very realistic! I'm not interested in some utopian future, I want to live my life now! It's a waste of time dreaming about the future!' I've heard statements like that a hundred times if I've heard them once. They are based on the assumption that an interest in politics is based on a lack of understanding of the 'real world' and a corresponding interest in a futuristic 'unrealistic' one.

d) Politics is a mug's game. This is a view often expressed by people who've flirted with political involvement, and felt that their efforts were in the main being manipulated or exploited or sold out by others for political gain. In the film The Mission, *two Jesuits work like demons (yes, demons) to convert and teach a South American tribe the ways of the Lord. Work done voluntarily and out of conviction for the Catholic Church, which same organisation then later sells them out, and allows their work to be literally burnt and shot out of existence. Something of the same sort happens regularly on a smaller scale, less dramatically, in the world of radical politics — especially where hierarchical organisations are concerned. In the past it has happened on a larger scale (as found in any history of the Communist Party for example). Many people believe all political activity to be simply 'working for others' in this way.*

e) Politics is presumptuous. This view is often expressed by the phrase: 'I know what I want, and I'm perfectly capable of thinking for myself. I don't need other people to tell me what to want or what to think'. Many people see politics as an intrusion *into their lives, rather than as an expression of them. This feeling becomes particularly strong whenever 'politicised' people produce an atmosphere in which everyone seems to be vying for the local 'right-onness' awards. It is a feeling which is aroused particularly when any area of private life (sexual habits, eating habits etc.) is criticised in political — rather than personal — terms.*

f) Politics is untrustworthy and/or simplistic. There are dozens of good radical paper papers in Britain which contain news and information which are not to be found in the conventional press. One of the reasons why more people don't read them, is that most people feel that their content will be tendentious, that is it will be slanted or distorted in a way favourable to the political viewpoint of the paper in question. (Not that the conventional press does not do that either, but that's another story. . .) People dislike this for three reasons: first, no one likes propaganda; propaganda is facts presented for purely political ends - a form of lying . Second no one likes being preached to, and many people feel that a paper produced by a specific political group will preach more than a 'non-aligned' publication. Third, people feel that a firm political line will give a simplistic view of events. This feeling can be summed up in the words of a friend who said: 'The trouble with politics is that it sees everything in terms of black and white, and never the subtle shades in between'. For political people, so the line of reasoning goes, everything must be divided into 'us and them', and this kind of division goes contrary to what we all know from personal experience of human behaviour, that it is never wholly good, nor wholly bad, and that no single person or group can be the 'enemy' for the simple reason that they are individuals with as much positive potential as negative. Also, people often find that political papers give absurdly simplistic analyses of the events they report. Witness those crass Trot articles, which, irrespective of whether they're reporting a revolution in South America or a half-day strike in Leamington, always end: '. . . what is needed here is a clear revolutionary approach based on fundamental Marxist dialectical principles. . .' (etc.).

g) Politics is hypocritical. This is a feeling generated by the progress of purely Marxist and pseudo-leftist politics in the world. The accusation of 'Look at those Socialists always driving around in their bloody limousines' or 'What about Russia, then? No freedom and all the Party officials in their dachas for the weekend,' are of course, perfectly justified.

h) Politics is futile. This belief can be summed up in the often heard phrase 'You'll never change anything', and is based on a kind of passive fatalism which is widespread.

i) Politics is ghettoised. Many people already have a satisfying social life, with as many or more friends than they could ask for, and often participate in regular social events, be it going down the club, rehearsing with a local band, or any other activity which already takes up a considerable amount of their spare time. They are initially put off the very thought of political activity as it involves — or can involve — a complete change of social scene, and a pushing aside of other fulfilling activities. Many of these people see political activity as a sort of fulltime lifestyle — in short, a social ghetto — which couldn't permit them to maintain their old social contacts.

j) Finally, politics is something which requires intellectual initiation. Literally thousands of people who would like to do somthing *active are put off by the feeeling that to participate with any organised political group they must somehow have to 'prove themselves' by showing considerable knowledge of the theories of that political group. This is an understandable reaction, given the intellectualist bias of some political groups (in the Labour Party Young Socialists, for example, you are handed a recommended reading list which you are expected to take seriously; to reach the status of what they call a 'special comrade' you have to have read the complete works — or a fuck of a lot of the works — of Leon Trotsky, the Russian intellectual and monomaniac whose writings make the* Book of Deuteronomy *look like a James Bond thriller).*

I feel that the above list sums up more or less comprehensively why the vast majority of ordinary people want nothing to do with active politics as they see them. Should anyone reading this not be clear about which 'ordinary people' I'm talking about, all they have to do is walk to the local shopping centre, or get a temporary job on any building site or in any office (say), and try and imagine who among *all* the people they can see around them would be interested in participating actively in the international anarchist movement, (say), or even in finding out a bit more about it. Unless you're an incurable optimist, you probably won't find many potential 'recruits'; on the contrary, if you tried to approach people on the subject, they'd probably get hostile and tell you to piss off. It would be unfair to then accuse them of being a bunch of unthinking robots or suckers of the system — as some 'drop-outs' or activists might. On the contrary, if you take into account their reasons for reacting as they do (listed previously from a) - j)), their reaction is perfectly accountable for. The question is: are they *right* to feel and think as they do about active politics? Or are they under a serious misconception?

The answer — as long as we are talking about left-wing politics, based around hierarchical organisations of aspiring political parties, or even one-issue hierarchies like the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament — is *yes*, yes and yes. They're right. I personally have felt the entire gamut of a) to j) as regards these dogmatic manipulative and self-deluding organisations, and for that reason have always preferred to stay in isolation, or contribute in only a limited outsider's way in some cases, where any kind of activity is involved. They are all limiting to the individual, they all foster absurd notions of possible futures, they are all incapable of achieving anything really constructive (or destructive) because of their own dogmatic demands, they all use and abuse their militants shamefully, they all — albeit to different extents — like telling other people what they must and must not do, they all offer 'single solutions' which are simplistic by definition. None of them are capable of practicing what they preach, either on an individual or collective level; they all tend to ghettoise their followers by taking away their spare time in ways convenient to the organisation, and they all give preference to the intellectuals among their number, who usually turn into the party big shots. On some of these scores, some groups may be less guilty than others, but they all apply to some extent. These groups — and I'm referring here especially to the 'radical' left organisations — are responsible for the estrangement of the vast majority of people from active politics. In their bloody - minded way, these groups have done as much harm to the idea of popular activism, popular self-managed change, as any repressive police force, or media brainwashing, or any of those other stock excuses that 'radicals' use to justify the miniscule numbers of people who go along with their ideas. (I'd exclude CND from this accusation to some extent —many people took from that organisation a sense of personal responsibility and a wish to organise autonomously that later developed in ways surprising to dear old CND itself — certain sectors of the Greenham women, for eg.).

And so we get back to where we started from: an impressive world-wide mess (as can be seen by reading between the lines of any newspaper) in which the vast majority paddle around dutifully, knowing damn well they're no freer than the neighbour's dog, yet unable to see a way out in which they themselves can participate directly, hemmed in as they are by the convenient sense of 'reality' which the political and commercial controllers imbue them with at one end, and by the dismal prospect of some pokey little worker's State offered as an alternative by the 'radicals' at the other. We have seen that it is hardly surprising that most people shy away from active politics, dominated as it is by the aforementioned pseudo-revolutionary hierarchies and their off-putting qualities listed a) to j). Little wonder then that most people seek freedom — when they do seek it — in a purely subjective, temporary way, which is alright for a while, until they wake up with a hangover, or the club closes, of the fuses blow on the stereo, or the closing time logos pop up on the telly, or the treatment clinic opens its doors, or the love story ends. . .

Have they got any other choice? Is anarchism an alternative? Is that imaginative form of common-sense mentioned at the beginning a clue? Or are we all *completely* fucked? The answers to all these questions and many more, in the next exciting instalment of *Day to Day Anarchist Problems in Perspective (Part 2): It's All Anarchy!*

MT (Barcelona Oct '86)



Where AreThey Now ?

In regard to our *Which Guide to Workers Vanguards*, published in the last issue, we are told that Mike Banda, formerly the great Trotskyist guru, is now a Stalinist and busy denouncing Trotsky's works.

Michel Pablo, however, also once a Trot guru, has broken with Leninism altogether and begun to question Marxism itself: he told a correspondent he was now 'nearer to anarchism'. (!)

El Campesino, the Spanish Stalinist general who ravaged the collectives during the last part of the civil war — but in exile in Russia losing his enthusiasm for Stalinism — is now believed to be in London. Recently he visited Berlin and spoke in defence of the CNT, the anarchist labour union. A correspondent said he was 'representing the Anarchist Black Cross in London' but this is not so. It is possible he may be collaborating with the Black Help (which is a curious anarcho-marxist melange).

INVESTIGATION

STATES WITHIN STATES

There has been some edited reports in the national press about the recently exposed unofficial state and municipal security system inside South Africa. The following is a run-down of how the system operates bringing into focus some aspects of the system which have not been reported on. In particular the system bears remarkable similarity to a security system, also unofficial, that has been in existence in Britain for seventy years – not that it is implied that the South African state base their system on the British model, but rather that the system employed in both countries is generic and seems to have its variants in many other countries too – countries which have by no means the same reputation as South Africa, or employ the same methods of counter-insurrection, but use different methods of deployment.

The South African model goes under the inocuous name of the **National Security Management Committee**. The British equivalent goes under the equally disarming name of the **Civil Contingencies Unit**. The **CCU**, under several previous incarnations, preceded the South African system by a (mere) sixty years. Both the British and South African systems are geared ultimately to intervene in civil and industrial strife as well as full scale civil war.

The hub of the SA system is the **Joint Management Centres**, of which there are eleven. Coincidentally the British equivalent of the **JMC**'s, the **Regional Emergency Centres**, also numbers eleven. Both the **JMC**'s and the **REC**'s correspond exactly with their respective regional defence territories. In the British case, this means the old **Regional Seats of Government** (now reorganised). The linkage to the nation's defence territories is very significant. With the British model the formal linkage was instituted in 1979 by former Labour Prime Minister Callaghan and enabled the resources of the Civil Defence network to be made available for use by the **Civil Contingencies Unit** for dealing with potential or actual widescale industrial action (eg. a general strike) or for emergencies provoked by insurrection. The same applies to the South African **Joint Management Centres**.

Where the South African **JMC**s differ from the British **CCU** is in the complexity of the overall structure. Altogether the **JMC**s are broken down into sixty sub-**JMC**s and they in turn are broken down into 448 mini-**JMC**s (which include approximately 1500 sub-committees). It is an all-pervading system, providing a redefinition of the term totalitarian. Roughly, the mini-**JMC**s correspond with larger geographical areas such as a whole town or a city, while the sub-committees are concerned with particular aspects of control (see following).

CONTROL OF TROUBLE SPOTS

On the whole the **JMC** system, right down to the 'grassroots' mini-**JMC**, is centred on the control of trouble spots, which in South African terms means areas where Blacks and Coloureds live. The **JMC** system has two main objectives: combining security matters with structures for social control to the extent that the two are seen as one; and the restoration of municipal authority, in direct line to State authority, to the local bureaucracies that in turn act as agencies of social control. According to the *Weekly Mail* the **National Security Management Committee** regards all security matters as being of the concern to the **JMC**s. As an example of what is regarded as a 'security matter' by a **JMC**, the **NSMC** stated that every aspect of day-to-day-life is considered a security matter. The school, rent and consumer boycotts, for example, are amajor priority of ongoing **JMC** concern.

On each **JMC** committee are representatives from regional industry, local government, the police, the armed forces, as well as representatives from central government departments. The same in fact does apply to the **Civil Contingencies Unit** here in Britain, where the **Regional Emergency Centre** staff consist mainly of departmental civil servants, senior officers of municipal government, Assistant Chief Constables from the police constabularies, Health administrators, representatives from the Ministry of Transport, the Dept. of the Environment, Health administrators, regional appointees from major and nationalised industries etc. with direct access to the armed forces via the ultimate authority of the Regional Commissioner of the **REC** who liases with the Regional Commander of the **Regional Seat of Government**.



Generally the British system, although fully operative, is rarely visible except in times of civil emergency, such as during a major strike. The South African system however, although a much larger structure with greater complexity, is cruder in the way it is perceived. According to the *Weekly Mail* the **National Security Management Security Committee** through the **JMC**s and their sub-divisions, is seen by political critics of South Africa as being an active organisation that is constantly intervening and taking a strategic role in all matters of social concern within South Africa. Its most important strength is that it has developed the means by which it broadly operates as the unofficial eyes and ears of the State security with the cooperation of representatives of many agencies and with the assistance of industry generally and municipal government.

HIT SQUADS

For example, it is known that at all levels of the system representatives of industry (small firms, as well as the multinationals) have been co-opted on to the mini, sub and regional **JMC**s, as well as at higher levels (central government), not only to report on unrest situations and strikes, but to organise strike breaking plans and even the arming of hit squads to deal with 'trouble-makers'. One of the main advisers to the **National Security Management Committee** on industrial security is the security firm **Pritchards**, which is a British based company. The use of the **CCU** in Britain has its own long history as the State's main strike-breaking organisation. During the 1978/'79 'Winter of Discontent' the CCU received information from the **Regional Emergency Centres** about each and every strike, and further information was supplied by contacts within the Trades Union Congress, the employers federation the CBI and of course the police and intelligence services. Back in 1972 the **CCU** was commissioned to look at policing and recommended a new approach to widening police involvement in community matters: thus was born the concept of 'community policing' which also, under the current police Commissioner Newman, became known as 'multi-agency policing'. After the 1981 riots these recommendations were acted upon.

As with the original aims of the community policing concept, the aim too of the **National Security Management Committee** in South Africa is, according to the *Weekly Mail*, to 'bring the State closer to the grassroots' (sic). Indeed one **JMC** head has publicly stated that because of the **JMC**s it is 'no longer necessary for the people to take the wrong way or become radical'. In other words the State is the 'all-provider' and 'source of all welfare' in addition to carrying out its other functions. The *Weekly Mail* also commented that the **JMC**s are there not only to report, recommend and implement on security matters, but, just as importantly to nip dissatisfaction in the bud by 'carrying out reforms'. These 'reforms', it is pointed out, are made to look as if they are being instigated by the municipal authorities, which are currently under mass boycott. The implementation of reforms is also seen as a means of defusing tension and at the same time placating international opinion.

CABINET CONTROL

The **JMC**s as stated at the beginning of this article, are by no means the controlling force in this system, but the centre of a hierarchy that as well as extending downwards to the mini and sub **JMC**s, also extends upwards to central government. In fact the system extends right into the Cabinet where it is headed by the **State Security Committee**. Between the **SSC** and the regional **JMC**s are two other layers in the hierarchy, namely the Work Committees and the Inter-Departmental Committees. These latter two coordinate information supplied via the **JMC**s and provide strategic recommendations for Cabinet approval. The combined functions of these two sets of committees parallels roughly the level of work undertaken by the **Civil Contingencies Unit** in Britain, and its simultaneous dealings with the **Regional Emergency Centres** in one direction and the **Cabinet Office Briefing Room (COBRA** – otherwise known as the 'War Cabinet') in the other. The South African **State Security Committee** is the equivalent of the British **COBRA**.

More accurately **COBRA** has its own **State Security Committee**, known as the **National Security Committee**, set up by former Prime Minister Heath in 1974 and which first task was the overhaul of the **Civil Contingencies Unit**, which in those days was known simply as the **Emergency Organisation**. According to a newspaper report at the time the **NSC** was set up to 'make good the yawning gap in official intelligence and control which the (miners) strike had exposed. Society had to be made less vulnerable to . . . groups of workers. . .'. The **NSC** was later responsible for the intervention of the military in industrial disputes and in times of civil unrest. Through **COBRA** the **NSC** is linked directly to the **Joint Intelligence Committee** (responsible for the coordination of all national Intelligence matters) and the **National Reporting Centre** (the emergency and civil disorder coordinating organisation within the Police currently situated at New Scotland Yard).

MULTI-DIMENSIONAL THREAT

Perhaps the work of the **NSC** and its equivalent in South Africa can be summed up by a quote (from the *Weekly Mail*) given by a **State Security Commitee** official: *The philosophy upon which the organisation is based is that the Republic is confronted by a multidimensional threat in the sense that the Republic's enemies attack the constitutional, the economic, the social and the security bases in accordance with a coordinated plan or strategy. It is the conviction of the government that this threat can only be met and turned back by application of strategies, using the same way as the enemy the four main elements: constitutional, economic, social and security.*

This formula is applied to every level of the **National Security Management** system right down the line to the sub-committees which are divided into four groupings: joint intelligence (GIK kom), political, economic and social (PES kom); communications (COM kom) – the latter of which is responsible for the organising of informants and the gathering of information.

Finally it should be significant to note that the chairman of the **JMC**s in every instance are either senior ranking police chiefs or senior ranking military officers. In the South African model the civil and military aspects of social control have been amalgamated. In the British it is more subtle: both aspects are simply run in parallel and arrangements are made for close liaison. While the South African regime has perfected a system and practice of repression, the British state has perfected a structure of control that is capable of repression when the occasion demands. Both systems are unique in form to their respective nations, but are by no means unique in structure to the exclusion of other nation states: they are but two examples of security systems used by all states – two examples whose similarities are notable and which surely act as models to which other nation-states either emulate or aspire to.

(For a detailed report on the history and practice of the **Civil Contingencies Unit** see *Black Flag Quarterly Nos. 6 & 7*).

T.H.

AIDS - THE STATIST PLAGUE

The killer disease AIDS virus was definitely created in the laboratory. It was covered up by the American authorities.

The allegation was first made in Australia and New Zealand. International experts are now going to prove that it was artificially made, disproving the bizarre theory that it 'originated after an African green monkey bit a man' or that it was the logical result of homosexual practices and so 'the gay plague'.

The *Sunday Express* (Oct. 26th) quotes Dr John Seale, the London expert who says is must have been 'man-made' and American Dr Robert Strecker, who asserts it to have been 'genetically engineered'

Dr Jacob Segal, of Berlin, pinpointed a secret American laboratory at Fort Detrick, Maryland, as the 'most likely place where the engineering took place'.

The *Express* however asserts that it was 'blunders' that caused this catastrophe which has since killed hundreds of both heterosexual men and women, and homosexuals.

It does not make much difference if it was 'deliberate' or 'blundering'. The lesser Chernobyl disaster, and the greater nuclear disasters that may follow, are no doubt blunders but if they were not manufacturing something whose potential they do not rightly understand the disaster would not have happened. Scientists all over the world they are playing with death.

While they are doing it, world leaders are sitting back calculating how they can use these monstrosities for pushing their own domination of the planet, not to say others too. It may read like the stuff of horror films and books but it is true. They are in love with Death and Corruption and see themselves as Avengers of Morality.

The mentality of those who would deliberately unleash a plague like AIDS may be horrific to contemplate, but it is well within the scope of probability. The way AIDS was presented as 'the wrath of God' and a punishment for sins means that someone was playing God, and the Christian fundamentalist mentality, more dominant in America than ever and sharpened in its militancy by the rival Islamic Fundamentalism, lends itself to this.

It is to these monsters that international criminal Statism have made us subject.

NB: The latest issue of *Direct Action (34)* features and article on Aids, Racism and Germ Warfare. The first person to die of AIDS in Britain Terence Higgins has his name used by the T.H. Trust.

The Terence Higgins Trust has an information pack on AIDS and HTLV3 virus with comprehensive advice on prevention.
Terence Higgins Trust, BM/AIDS, London WC1N 3XX

COMMENT

MOZAMBIQUE - TERRORISM AND THE M.N.R

As the struggle inside South Africa grows so does Pretoria's attempts to destabilise the hostile Frontline states. The Botha regime wreaks havoc in Southern Africa as a means to strengthen its political and economic control of the region, and to prevent external aid from reaching the freedom fighters within its own borders.

Mozambique has suffered more than most. The overthrow of the ruling Marxist party, FRELIMO, and its replacement with a puppet government is central to Pretoria's policy in the region. The 'beria corridor' through Mozambique to the coast is Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia's only alternative to using South African trade routes. Recently, Pretoria has increased its efforts to overthrown FRELIMO, culminating in the assassination of Samora Machel and twenty seven others on October 20th 1986.

South Africas planned replacements of FRELIMO are the MNR (Mozambique National Resistance) who, with SA training and supplies, have been waging a guerrilla war which has intensified since 1980. As part of a recent face lift they have changed their name to RENAMO in order to obscure their origins. The MNR exist as a tool of the SA Defence Forces and its not the product of popular opposition to FRELIMO's socialist policies, although discontent with the agricultural reforms has helped the MNR. A brief look at the history of the MNR confirms this.

After a bitter war of liberation and a revolution in Portugal, Mozambique got political independence in 1975. The area was bankrupt even before independence and the mass exodus of the Portuguese deprived the country of almost all its trained workforce. In addition, the Portuguese settlers wrecked every bit of useful machinery and equipment before they left. Policy errors and drought added to the problems.

RHODESIA BECOMES ZIMBABWE

As Mozambiques independence was meaningless without Zimbabwe's independence also, FRELIMO gave the maximum help to ZANU, led by Mugabe. The ZANLA forces (ZANU's military wing) were provided with arms and rear bases. This was obviously of concern to the Smith era regime and the MNR was created, with a seemingly smart escaped car thief, called Matsangaiza, as its first leader. The aims of the MNR are best summed up by the former Director General of the Rhodesian C.I.O., Ken Flowers, whose idea it was in the first place: *The objectives of the MNR were essentially to provide opportunity for Rhodesia to deal with ZANLA in Mozambique, without doing so directly and to perpetuate or create instability in the areas of Mozambique.*

The MNR also covered Rhodesian attacks such as the destruction of the Beria Oil tanks in March 1979.

Due to the budget limits and internal disputes, Flowers had been trying since 1976 to get South Africa to help with organising the MNR. With the unexpected victory of ZANU(PF) in Zimbabwe's independence elections in 1980, MNR units were transported with their equipment to new bases in South Africa. A fleet of South African C130 transport aircraft were used in their escape. At the time of Zimbabwe's independence the MNR were still small and disorganised.



It was the formation of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference in 1980 which gave Pretoria real determination to develop the MNR. The SADCC is an attempt by the Frontline States to reduce and end economic dependence upon SA. This upset Pretoria's vision of a 'Constellation of South African States' which SA would politically and economically dominate. Mozambique was SADCC's weak spot. The MNR was therefore transformed from being a relatively small clandestine organisation (as they had been under their Rhodesian masters) into a guerrilla army more along UNITA lines. The new MNR leader Dhlakama was then sent on a tour of Europe to get support from the prominent politicians. Offices were established in West Germany and also Lisbon, Portugual where they gained sympathy and some assistance from influential displaced Portuguese settlers.

The more important military missions in Mozambique were carried out by the SADF masquerading as MNR. Sometimes the SADF were equally inefficient. In October 1981 four white South African soldiers blew themselves up with a bomb on the Beria to Zimbabwe oil pipeline. The MNR were given humbler but devastating tasks such as attacking relief food trucks during the drought of 1981 to 1983. Over 100,000 people starved to death.

In March 1984 the government of Mozambique and South Africa signed the Nkomati Accord, in which they agreed not to support the ANC (SA) and MNR respectively. Evidence that SA completely failed to honour the agreement is overwhelming and Pretoria now hardly pretends otherwise.

The MNR has recently been gaining support from the lunatic 'right' in the USA. The rabid Jesse Helms has taken up their'cause'. The mercenaries paper the *Soldier of Fortune* recently ran an article entitled 'Winning one in Africa'. At a recent mercenaries convention in Las Vegas, a MNR delegation was there, along with representatives of the 'contras' UNITA and other counter-revolutionaries. The guest of honour was Ron Reid Daly, one time leader of Ian Smiths notorious Selous Scouts. A visit to the USA by new MNR leader Dhlakama is planned soon. As the sinister Heritage Foundation is now behind the MNR, the trip could be very rewarding. Last May the MNR set up offices in Washington. The lobbying of Congress seems to be paying off as US aid to Mozambique has been cut and the country (along with Angola and Zimbabwe) is about to be cut off the list of states affected by the US sanctions against SA that will get compensation.

The increasing resistance of the people of South Africa to Botha's regime and the insolent actions taken recently by some Frontline States (especially their efforts to economically divorce themselves from SA), has led to a redoubling of Pretoria's destabilisation efforts.

MALAWI – MNR SPRINGBOARD

During the past few months MNR activity has been increasing rapidly with their troops operating from Southern Malawi. Malawi is ruled by 'Kamazu' Banda, a paranoid murderous dictator and South African lap dog. At the end of September Banda was told that unless he stopped his support of the MNR then Malawi would be blockaded by Zambia, Tanzania and Mozambique. Samora Machel ordered missiles to be placed along Malawi's border. At the beginning of October Malawi 'expelled' thousands of well armed MNR soldiers in what appears to have been a carefully planned move, and their most successful move yet. There were reports that the MNR were openly led by white SADF officers. On October 7th, Malan, the SA Defence Minister, stated that Machel 'appears to have lost control of the situation' and that if he chose 'terrorism and revolution then South Africa would act accordingly'. This followed a doubtful claim that Mozambique was responsible for a landmine explosion inside South Africa. The same lame excuse was used for the SADF's attacks on the Frontline capital cities in May. One week before Machel's death there were claims that SADF commandos had infiltrated Maputo. The day before the assassination the main Zimbabwean newspaper claimed on the front page that Pretoria was plotting Machel's death. On Monday truck loads of soldiers and police began to race around Harare and Machel's death was announced by radio at lunchtime.

Machel and thirty seven others were on their way back from a meeting concerning action to be taken against Zaire for their support of UNITA. It failed to arrive in Maputo and at 6.50 am, South Africa informed the Mozambiquan govt. that a plane had 'crashed' just across the border. Twenty eight died and ten survived. Until recently killing Machel and many many other FRELIMO leaders would not have been of great use to Pretoria and would have attracted more bad press but the recent sequence of events has made this option increasingly appealing to the apartheid racists. Their deaths will almost certainly spark a power struggle within FRELIMO, which in view of the MNR offensive couldn't have come at a worse time for them. The loss of Machel's almost Che Guvara image will be a serious blow. The trade route and pipe line to the part of Beria is vital to Zimbabwe and Zambia's economic survival. It has been frequently sabotaged in the past and it's now threatened more than ever. The Beria corridor is the key to the Frontline states strategy to beat the effects of S.A. sanctions which are virtually in effect already. (SA began to licence exporters to Zimbabwe two months ago).

The day after Machel's assassination a demonstration in Harare wrecked and burnt out the SA trade mission (there is no embassy), the Malawian High Commission, and both their airline offices. A white South African who rushed back to save some papers was caught and beaten as was a British world service reporter. The police moved in after weeks most of the windows of the US Embassy had been smashed in. About fifty people were arrested and the next day a riot broke out in front of the main police station as about 1,000 people protested against the arrests. Feelings are high despite ZANU (PE) leaders appeal for calm.

It has been announced that more Zimbabwean soldiers are being sent to assist FRELIMO and that the government will not allow the MNR to seize power in Mozambique at any cost. More South African attacks are expected. The Pretoria regime may be slowly crumbling but it is still very powerful. As the crisis inside its own boarders hightens, it shows less and less hesitation in using that power to terrorise the people of all Southern Africa

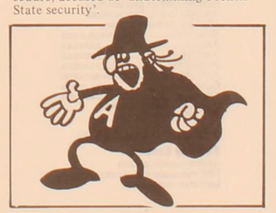
BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING

France land of freedom? France land of refuge for those who suffer political asylum? NOT AT ALL. Nothing is further from the truth. Asylum for dictators like Papa Doc (ex-Haiti), hell for freedom.

In France we see lots of cops and their pale shadows called *vigiles* (private police security, night watch etc.). Between the weather reports and adverts on TV the news sometimes mentions police raids and raids against immigrants.

Do not worry, dear readers, it is still possible, in spite of the government's emphasis on security, to carry weapons without trouble. Five people in Toulouse South France, three on foot, two in cars were stopped on September 22 by the CRS (Riot cops created by the Socialist Party in the '50s) These five people were carrying: a pump action shotgun (12bore) loaded with five cartridges, some grenades, a 1.7 foot long truncheon, a revolver (.22 long barrelled) with eight cartridges and one Colt .45 with seven bullets. After they were taken to the police station, these 'young gentlemen' were soon released. You can see then, that there is no need to become paranoic, anti-terrorist measures still leave us a lot of freedom. . . Oh, sorry, I have to give you more detail: our five arms-lovers are all extreme right militants, and were going to J.M. Le Pen's meeting of the National Front, where they were afraid of confrontation with anti-fascist demonstrators. This shows that you can carry all the guns you want (as long as you carry a membership card of the NF!). However this is still safer than walking with your hands in your pockets, and with no immigrant identification card.

During the visit of the Catholic dictator the Pope, Lord of obscurantism and of stupidity, Khoemeini of the Occi lent, to Lyon (Eastern France); two comrades Paola Piazzalunga (from Italy) and Marcus Shieffer (from Switzerland) were arrested while they were putting up anti-clerical posters against the Pope's visit. Both of them should have been expelled on 8th of October through an Emergency procedure, accused of 'undermining French State security'.



In the French Constitution it is said that the Church and the State are independent; we see once again that this is not true, and that the Constitution is nothing but lies.

In Nimes (Southern France) on the night of 17-18 September, three Anarchist militants from the Gard Region were sticking up posters (anti-militarist) and were intimidated by individuals who drove a police car. These four cops said that the posters 'were helping terrorism' and were 'against the public order' and next time things will go further etc. Who said that it was good living in France? Left-wing and right wing are responsible for this situation which reigns today. The bombings which kill innocent people are the pretext to control and destroy freedom. Even dead people are useful for this purpose: put in jail, 'suicided', human beings when they fight against this so-called freedom which is only commercial freedom, and if you refuse to be sold, look out! Coluche* said: Chirac a new Petain* for France! Seems he was right. Big Brother wants to contol you!

Some psychiatric hospitals in France have received letters from private security companies asking them if they have alcoholic people who went through the different wars, and who still have their arms permits. These companies want to recruit these people, and employ them as security guards in supermarkets, banks etc. When you think that these people are not stable and that they will shoot very easily, this means that you will have to be very careful when going to these places if you do not want to be killed.

Pasqua, French Minister of police has found another new practice. Putting in psychiatric hospitals all drug addicts (for two years). So, if you smoke soft drugs, or whatever, be careful, you will be sentenced to two years. Tobbaco addicts or drunkards are still safe as long as it gives money to the State.

* **Coluche was a French-Italisn humourist who died some months ago in an accident.**

* **Petain was Chief of the French government during the second world war, working with Hitler's regime.**

NB: Protests by the French Anarchist Federation, (appeals over *Radio Libertaire* urging listeners to protest to the State), reproduction of the 'offending poster' in several papers and magazines with calls to 'prosecute us too', achieved the freedom of the comrades Paola Piazzalunga (from Italy) and Marcus Shieffer (from Switzerland). They were not deported!